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and rear by a belt or girdle which is worn around the waist. The girdle (akondenano, anyone's girdle; akondu, girdle) is made of two cotton cords, each of which is made of four strands braided together. The two braided cords are joined together to a tie-string at either end, the two tie-strings being knotted together when the girdle is worn. A man usually wears two or more akondus. Like a belt, they rest at the sides of the body upon the eminences overlying the illiac crests, sagging downward front and rear so that the navel and the upper lumbar region are exposed. A longer piece of the loin cloth is allowed to hang in front than in back; the front piece is eighteen inches to two feet in length, the back pendant piece only a foot. When engaged in active work, a man usually tucks up the front end of the loin cloth into his girdle.

Women also wear a loin cloth (wori kamisharu tupuru), which when possible is made of blue cloth. It is usually undecorated, bearing no fringe or appliqué. More rarely fringe and appliqué decorate the front end of the female loin cloth. The woman's loin cloth is shorter and slightly wider than the man's. Like the man's, it is initially passed between the legs and suspended from a girdle. In front, however, only a short wide piece hangs free, like a small apron, while the superfluous material at the rear, instead of being allowed to hang as a pendant end after being passed over the girdle, is brought back between the legs and tucked into the girdle in front, under the pendant apron-like strip which hangs down over the pelvic region. Thus the man's costume provides only a single covering of the pelvic organs, while the arrangement of the woman's loin cloth provides double protection in this region.

The woman's girdle (wori akondu kasuru, woman-girdle-beads) is composed of several strings of white china beads attached to tie strings at either end, as in the case of the braided cords of the man's girdle. The number of strings of beads varies with the ability of the owner to procure them through trade channels. Good bead girdles are rare at the present time because, for some unknown reason, china beads are difficult to obtain in Georgetown and are consequently seldom imported into the bush by traders. In case a woman has no beads, she contents herself with a girdle of unbraided cotton cords. The loin cloth, as I have said, constitutes the only article of clothing for women in regions where trade goods are scarce. But because the women, wherever cloth, needles,

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and thread are available, are assiduous if not highly accomplished seamstresses, certain other items which are occasionally included in the female wardrobe deserve mention.

The loin cloths of both sexes, and the girdles, are made by the women. In addition they make the saiya and dresses. The saiya looks like a sort of skirt gathered into a band around the top. Instead of being worn around the waist, the saiya is suspended over one shoulder around the neck, leaving the other shoulder bare. Dresses of several imported patterns are constructed by the women, most of them having knee-length skirts and being rather clumsily fitted. One which enjoys a wide popularity on the lower Barama employs the "trap-door" feature familiar to American connoisseurs of underwear for nursing mothers of a generation ago. Dress patterns and knowledge of needle work have been introduced to the Carib women from at least two sources. The missionaries, here as elsewhere unconsciously working hand in hand with the traders, considered it part of the Christian religion to encase the bodies of the women in garments which would adequately protect them from the gaze of men, and provided cloth and instruction to the women for this purpose. Secondly, during the 'heyday' of the lumber business, when the sawmill at the mouth of the river was flourishing, the proprietors of that establishment were required to tax their ingenuity to the utmost in importing constantly new types of trade goods with which to rouse the avidity of the Carib woodcutters and their wives. A Carib takes the sensible attitude that there is little point in working for someone else, once he has earned all that he desires. And since the simple desires of the Caribs could be satisfied with the proceeds of a few days' labor, it was necessary for the harassed sawmill operators, who were dependent upon Carib labor in their woodcutting operations, to stimulate new desires in the hearts of their employees. One of the results of this situation was the importation of cheap ready-made silk and cotton dresses, which immediately caught the eye of the women. Unhappily, the husbands were required, at the prevailing level of prices in the bush, to work long and earnestly to procure the garments, but the women got the dresses in the end. In the course of time the necessary patching and repairing on these gowns led the women to a familiarity with their construction, so that the more skillful seamstresses learned how to dupli-

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cate them more or less accurately. All this took place a dozen years ago, yet I was on many occasions shown the ragged remains of these "shop dresses" together with the home-made copies proudly exhibited for my critical judgment.

Babies and small children usually wear nothing at all. Some time before puberty both sexes don small loin cloths, usually bits of rag suspended between the legs from strings around the waist. (Plate 10, *a*.) The sexual differentiation in the manner of wearing the loin cloth, practised by the elders, is also recognized in the garb of the children. Near the mouth of the river several women have made dresses for their small daughters and romper suits for their little boys. The wife of Alec, my interpreter, whose home is at Kariako, is perhaps the outstanding matron in this respect.

The adult types of raiment are donned with the appearance of the physical changes accompanying puberty.

Ornament. A variety of ornaments made of cotton, beads, nut shells, insect wings, and small animal bones are donned by both sexes on special occasions. The men wear a long necklace called the kasuru kapuru, made of beads and cotton. It hangs down the back and at its end has a pendant tassel of beads or iridescent beetle wings. Men also wear a short plain necklace of cotton fringe, called moruren. The incisor teeth of leopards, wild hogs, and rats are especially prized for necklaces. They are strung on kraua cord to form short necklaces of the choker variety as well as longer types (Plate 12, *a*). If possible the teeth of only one animal are strung on a necklace, but this rule is not invariably followed. Pendants consisting of strings of seeds and cotton tufts are frequent (Plate 12, *b*). Wristlets are worn by the men; they are usually made of a woven band of homespun cotton with a fringe of china beads of various colors. In other cases they are woven from nibi fiber, the material used for making basketry (yame akundenana, bead bracelet). Men frequently wear armlets just above the elbow; these ornaments (yapesepuru) are braided from nibi fiber to make a thin band about one quarter of an inch wide; in some cases small fiber rings are suspended from the armlet. A man frequently wears two or three yapesepuru on each arm; it is said that these bands steady the arm muscles of an archer. In the villages around the head of the Barama many of the men wear ligatures (tsepu) above and below the calf of the leg; such a

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301 ligature is simply an unadorned cotton or kraua cord tied tightly
237 around the leg. The Indians say that they prevent cramp. At dances the men often wear fillets of cotton fringe on their heads; these are composed of a thick cotton fringe tied onto a base of cotton cords so tightly that the whole thing assumes a roughly cylindrical shape about one inch in diameter; a sort of crown of fringe goes around the head, and from its back two cylindrical fringes, about a foot in length, dangle over the neck (Plate 11, *b*).

The women also wear necklaces of beads, bones, teeth. For instance, one observed at Sawari contained two ear bones of the rat (mombo tanaipyu), two crab claws (kawana yedi), and a ring made from the shell of an akuru nut, all strung together on cotton string. Gold glass beads obtained from the shops down river are in great favor for women's necklaces. Another observed at Sawari consisted of twenty-five large gold glass beads, three beads of green glass skillfully chipped by the Indians from green bottle glass, a reddish ring made from the shell of the kokerite[1] nut (maripa epyupo), and four black rings made from the shell of the witi nut. Men do not wear glass beads. And it will be noted that the women's necklaces are more varied and "fancy" than the men's. A few older women were observed wearing anklets of woven homespun cotton; the band of cotton was about three inches wide and undecorated; this custom is said to be confined to the "old time people" and seems definitely to be passing out. Ligatures below the knee, worn by some women, are made of cotton woven into a band about an inch wide and are called tchesuru. In some cases these ligatures below the knee are made of strings of china beads woven together into a band. Women also wear arm bands of china beads above the elbow.

An ornament worn by both sexes is the sararapan; it consists of a long thick cotton cord hung around the neck over the right shoulder and suspending a tassel-like ornament on the left hip; the suspended ornament may consist of short strings of beads,
321 short strings of kiushi, and other seeds. Several examples of orna-
301 ments made from the shell of a river bivalve were observed; the shell is ground into a disc about one and one-quarter inches in diameter, perforated in the middle for suspension, and the brown

[1] *Maximiliana regia.*

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patina of the outer surface scraped off in places to produce a brown-on-white design.

Women usually have a small perforation in the middle of the lower integumental lip in which a common brass pin or a thorn is inserted with its point outward. The natives consider this practice more a matter of convenience than of ornamentation. The pin or thorn is removed for use whenever the owner needs a sharp point.

There is thus very little formalization in the pendants, necklaces, bracelets, armlets, fillets, and ligatures worn by the Caribs. So far as I was able to discover, none of these ornaments possess any extraneous significance which would indicate that they are regarded as fetishes or amulets.

In preparation for a dance or drinking spree both the men and women sometimes decorate their foreheads with the white underdown of the powis (Plates 11, *b* and 13, *a*). This ornamentation has been described by Mr. A. Hyatt Verrill as the "Carib tribal mark."[1] At the present time, this symbol is not used as a self-conscious designation of tribal membership by the Barama Caribs. It is worn only at sprees, at which times foreigners as a rule are absent, and at present can be considered functionally only as a type of festive ornamentation. Wild honey is spread on the forehead, and into this natural adhesive the white down feathers are stuck so that a thick fluff covers the forehead. Even its use at sprees is not invariable.

On festive occasions the women always paint their faces. The onto fruit is made into a paste and colored red with ruku (*Bixa orellana*). Different shades of red and black are made by adding lamp black to the paste, which is kept in a hollow section of dried bamboo and applied with the frayed end of a twig. Several designs are in use. Informants consistently stated that, although these designs had religious significance in the past, they were purely decorative at present.

Both sexes sometimes decorate their hair with flowers and feathers on festive occasions. The arrangement of these ornaments is quite casual, and their use is not an invariable part of the toilet.

Women usually wear their hair parted in the middle with either one or two braids hanging down the back. When the woman is at

[1] Verrill, 1917, *Tribal Relationship of the Akawoios.*

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556 the accumulation of wealth has little correlation with social status.
422 There are certain material essentials, which have been described in
511 our chapters on material culture, and these every household must possess if it is to survive. The list of these essentials is not large, as compared with the possessions of more complex cultures; but it must be remembered that the major part of the Carib possessions are really essentials, there are few luxuries in the catalogue of Carib material culture. Thus, the accumulation of essential goods is merely a matter of convenience, the goods have little social connotation in themselves. A man may have two bows, so that he will not be inconvenienced should one break, but he would consider it a foolish waste of time to make a dozen bows. He would have no use for them, and he would add nothing to his prestige (in fact, would damage his reputation for intelligence) in the eyes of his fellows by possessing such a surplus.

556 One of the reasons for the surprizingly considerate treatment
461 which Indians receive from outsiders in this region is the fact that the latter have been forced to recognize that beyond a certain point, the mere possession of property means nothing to the Caribs. Every gold digger, lumber operator, and balata bleeder who has traveled on the Barama will tell you of the difficulty he has in keeping his Indian boatmen and laborers at work. "An Indian will work only until he gets what he wants and then he will quit cold," is a common observation. Consequently, anyone who relies on a native crew must depend upon the personal relations which he establishes with his workmen to a larger extent than the trade goods which he can give them.

251 Accumulations of food are likewise of little significance to the Caribs, for two reasons: the climate does not permit prolonged preservation of native food products, and daily supplies of food are readily available to the competent hunter and agriculturist, though not without a certain amount of effort, it is true. Cassava bread is the only food product which can be kept over a period of months, and such preservation is resorted to only in cases of necessity, inasmuch as the flavor of the product is adversely affected by storage.

●301 A small number of luxuries are held in esteem by the Caribs.
511 Among those which they produce themselves are necklaces of teeth and seeds, cotton fillets, bracelets, and other ornaments.

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There is, however, a limit of personal ornamentation beyond which an individual's movements in dancing and drinking activities are hindered at the expense of sociability. I have never seen a Carib "loaded down" with ornaments, although it would be comparatively simple to accumulate enough teeth, seeds, beads, in a lifetime to cover the body completely from head to foot. Cotton dresses are greatly prized by the women, but two or three such garments are considered quite sufficient. I have known many women who have urged their husbands to work enough to buy cloth for one or two dresses, but who have lost interest after sufficient cloth had been acquired. Men also desire singlets, trousers, and felt hats, but a Carib who has one of each of these in good condition cannot readily be interested in the acquisition of additional outfits.

Tobacco of European manufacture is perhaps the greatest luxury in the region, but I have never observed a tendency to hoard it on the part of those lucky enough to obtain some of this product. Thinking to stem the ceaseless requests for tobacco, I tried the experiment of presenting certain individuals with whole cans of Capstan, only to find that they had wasted it or given it away and were soon begging for more.

The only circumstance in which property factors enter directly into the social situation is that in which a man by reason of laziness becomes a continual borrower from his neighbors. (See section on Crime and Punishment.) If such a man does not reform, he will be eliminated from the social life of the settlement and eventually be forced to take up his residence elsewhere.

Economic activity among the Caribs, then, is based on need. Each family is responsible for itself, and although co-operation in labor and lending of goods is common, the principle of individuality in property remains intact. Accumulation of wealth is of little social importance because one does not need accumulated wealth to fortify or improve one's social position. The reasons for the absence of such need are to be found in the interaction of the culture and the environment.

Let us now turn to the economic activities of the inhabitants of Sawari. In the first place, two different arrangements are in force in regard to agricultural plots. These two types of arrangement are illustrated respectively by the partnership and individual fields.

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a, Appearance of a Carib man who works for one of the trading posts. This type of costume is unusual on the Barama.

b, The headman of Sawari, Miller, with his pini rattle. Note forehead covered with white powis-down and fillet of cotton on head.

[End plate 11]

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a, Man wearing personal ornaments at a drinking spree. Note necklace of tiger teeth, wristlet with pendent tassel, imported handkerchief.

b, Back view of the man shown in a, showing pendent tassel of cotton tufts and seeds attached to necklace of teeth.

[End plate 12]